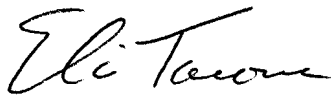
'*So please be nice in class!*'

An analysis of the complexity, accuracy, and fluency of two English learners' language through a heteroglossic lens

Darren K. LaScotte

University of Minnesota

Accepted as a Plan B Paper in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master of Arts in TESOL for Higher Education, Second Language Education, Department of Curriculum & Instruction, University of Minnesota.



May 1, 2016

Signature Date

Introduction:

In the field of second language acquisition (SLA) and applied linguistics, researchers have drawn on many disciplines to further their understanding of language learning, which has, in turn, informed on second language (L2) teaching practice. In the midst of what is now being referred to as the 'social turn' in SLA (Block, 2003), there has been a return to looking at the social dynamics of language learning, as language is not and cannot be defined as an isolated phenomenon removable from social context. The very nature and function of language, a principle trait of being human, a *social being*, requires as such that social context be present. Language learning, by consequence, is thereby argued to be a social process that does not solely take place in an individual's cognition.

> [Language learning] is linked to social and local ecology; it is adaptive to an emergent set of resources, resources that are embodied in social interaction. Learning is anchored in the social practices that a learner engages in… [and] linguistic utterances are sensitive to and reliant upon their interactional context (Gass & Selinker, 2008, p. 280-1).

Therefore, it is important to remain cognizant of the fact that in conducting research in SLA, language and language learning must not be divorced from social context.

After Corder (1967) originally postulated that L2 learners have an internal syllabus that systematically guides their language learning and development of a new linguistic system, Selinker (1972) proposed that this system, which he termed *interlanguage*, was different from the targeted linguistic system being learned. As the vast majority of adults[1] who learn a second language do not achieve "absolute success" (i.e. native-like proficiency and performance) in the language being studied, Selinker posited that what learners *do* acquire *to a degree* of success is systematic and falls somewhere on the continuum between the learner's first language (L1) and

[1] Selinker (1972) defines adult to be over the age of 12.

the targeted L2. However, Selinker's 1972 theory does not address the extent to which interlanguage is affected by social context. Considering interlanguage through a variationist perspective, as Selinker did later in Selinker and Douglas (1985) as a response to variationists (e.g. Tarone, 1983), learners' utterances in their interlanguage do vary in social context depending on *who* the interlocutors are and *what* the social situation is (Bayley & Tarone, 2011; Selinker & Douglas, 1985; Tarone, 1979, 2000a). For example, there may be more attention to grammatical form and specific vocabulary or a decrease in fluency when learners are speaking about certain subject matters in comparison to others. Likewise, the way learners perceive the role of the interlocutor in the discourse domain may also have an effect on their language production (Selinker & Douglas, 1985). As language learners navigate the social context they find themselves in, their interlanguage production varies.

As it has been demonstrated in research on language production, speakers accommodate their interlocutor or addressee by employing certain vocabulary, a specific register, or speech *style* tailored to their audience (e.g. Bell, 1984). As such, the interlocutor plays a large role in the social context of language production. In Beebe's (1980) study on second language learners of English, she found that the interlocutor had a significant effect on her participants' phonology. Beebe showed that Thai learners of English used more Thai variants when interacting with another ethnic Thai than they did with ethic Chinese (Beebe, 1980 as cited in Bayley & Tarone, 2011 and Geeslin & Long, 2014). In another SLA study, Tarone and Liu (1995) presented longitudinal research that documents a five-year old immigrant's acquisition of English over the course of two years. These data show that the child first used new English structures with his family friend, then with his peers, and lastly with his teacher. The interlocutor also had an effect on acquiring new language and following the developmental

sequences. In a third SLA study, Broner (2001) statistically demonstrated through use of VARBRUL analysis that fifth grade Spanish immersion students drew differentially on L1 English and L2 Spanish in interaction with specific interlocutors. This, in addition to the other aforementioned studies, supports the notion that the interlocutor has an effect on L2 learner language production and needs to be considered to play a sizeable role in social context.

However, while past research has shown how interlocutors who engage with speakers *in real time* have had an effect on language production, what has yet to be explored in depth in the field of second language acquisition and applied linguistics is how a speaker's *perceived interlocutor* or *perceived self* may also have an effect. Instances have been highlighted by Tannen (1989) with regard to L1 speakers that demonstrate how *constructed dialogue*—direct quotations 'created' by a speaker—may frame information in a way that enables the speaker's direct involvement in the dialogue (Yule, 1993). Mathis and Yule (1994) demonstrated how a speaker's perceived self in dialogue manifested as speech attribution to another speaker. The speaker was interjecting her voice into the already constructed dialogue of her interlocutor, taking the interlocutor's role in the conversation. While these sources concern themselves with L1 users of the language, it has yet to be demonstrated whether and how constructed dialogue may affect the linguistic shape of an L2 learner's interlanguage. For instance, what happens when L2 learners recount narratives in which they reenact dialogue between themselves and another *imagined* interlocutor no longer physically present in the retell? Do the linguistic forms in L2 learner language differ when the speakers are enacting another's voice for their own purpose in telling a narrative? To address these questions, we must also draw upon sociocultural theory.

Regarding SLA and language learning as social processes, sociocultural theorists and

researchers[2] such as Karen Johnson, James Lantolf, Eduardo Negueruela, Amy Ohta, Matthew Poehner, and Merrill Swain have situated the former within Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky's seminal work. Sociocultural theory posits that the most important forms of human cognitive activity (e.g. language) develop through interaction within social environments (Lantolf, 2000, 2006; Lantolf, Thome, & Poehner, 2015). Included in this theory is the concept of *internalization*, or "the process through which individuals appropriate social forms… such as language and use it to regulate their own mental activity" (Lantolf & Beckett, 2009, p. 460). In this view, language, among other higher order cognitive functions, is first social and through the process of acquisition is subsequently internalized where it becomes accessible as a cognitive resource (Vygotsky, 1981; Lantolf *et al.*, 2015). All new language forms and functions are thus first present in the individual's social context and environment and only then able to enter the individual's consciousness through a process of mediation in social interaction. As such, "[the] greater the number and diversity of contexts of interaction within and across social institutions that L2 learners gain and have access to... the richer and more linguistically diverse their evolving semiotic resources will be" (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016, p. 27).

This notion of internalizing language as a resource is key within sociocultural theory and a concept that was shared by Mikhail Bakhtin, a contemporary of Vygotsky in Russian sociocultural psychology. In the early twentieth century, Bakhtin (1934/1981) theorized that there are centripetal forces that work in the human psyche to internalize the language surrounding us in everyday social contexts. Whether this is language from a particular social group, genre, or school, centralizing forces pull in language embodied in its social context into what Bakhtin has termed dialogized heteroglossia. Bakhtin's theory of heteroglossia refers to the coexistence in the mind of an individual of many distinctive language varieties in an authentic

[2] Researchers are presented alphabetically by order of last name

environment "in which [these varieties] live and take shape" (p. 272). These internalized linguistic structures he referred to as *voices* since, within the embodied context through which these structures were internalized, they retain elements of otherness in the mind of the individual and keep the social values and characteristics of their original speakers (Bakhtin, 1934/1981; Tarone, 2000b). Even monolinguals, knowing and practicing only one language, code switch between language varieties, such as registers (degrees of formality), discourses, and perhaps dialects, invoking others' voices in turn to create social, functional, and generic variation within their language (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Tarone, 2000b). For second language learners, this concept of variation within language use through evocation of distinctive voices and social context also requires consideration.

Concerning multilingual populations that have the capacity to draw on multiple language resources across a number of linguistic systems, heteroglossia is complex. In addition to taking into account *who* the interlocutor is and *what* the social situation entails, multilingual speakers' language production may invoke voices from differing linguistic systems within their heteroglossic repertoire. For example, voices acquired from a speaker's L1 may be invoked in use of the L2, and *vice versa*. In that regard, as large numbers of individuals continue to cross international borders and as advanced technology continues to promote international and multilingual communication at the touch of a button, the notion of heteroglossia in a language learner's interlanguage has never been so necessary in SLA theory. By incorporating aspects of sociocultural theory into a sociolinguistic theoretical framework, SLA researchers may have a better understanding of how perceived or imagined social context has an effect on language production and, as a result, second language acquisition.

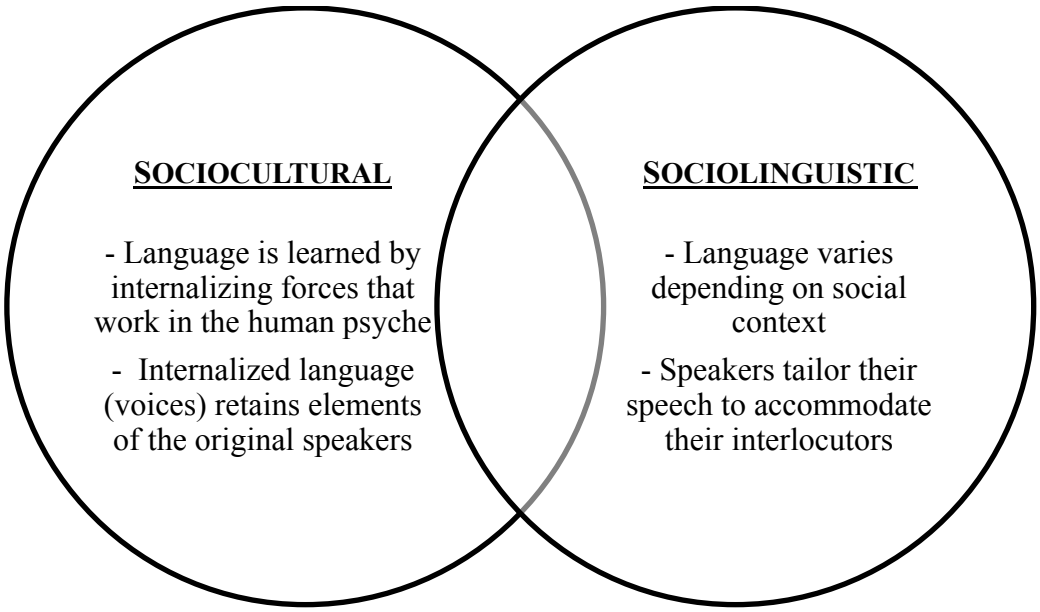


Figure 1: Blending Social Frameworks

Figure 1 illustrates the conceptions of sociolinguistic and sociocultural theory as they have been discussed thus far. The present study blends aspects of sociolinguistic and sociocultural frameworks in an effort to further our understandings in the indicated overlap which, at present, remains a gap in the literature. Viewing interlanguage through a heteroglossic lens, it is possible that the voices that language learners have internalized from their social environment(s) into their dialogized heteroglossia may have an effect on the complexity, accuracy, and fluency (CAF) of their learner language production. For instance, their learner language may be more accurate when enacting the voice of a native speaker of English than when enacting the voice of a nonnative speaker. This study aims to explore this potential phenomenon by using the CAF framework to analyze the heteroglossic speech of two English language learners in interaction. This multi-componential type of analysis may allow for a deeper look at L2 performance in specific contexts and domains, whereas other more holistic approaches may not (Ellis, 2008; Housen & Kuiken, 2009; Skehan, 1998). Thus, this framework

lends itself as an important instrument with which the researcher will analyze learner language through a social lens in an effort to answer the following research question:

- Do the complexity, accuracy, or fluency of two English language learners seem to differ when they enact the voice of a perceived interlocutor or perceived self, versus when they recount a narrative?

Methods:

Participants:

The participants of this study were native speakers of French from different regions in France, and at the time of data collection they were first-year elementary school teachers in an immersion setting. While they both lived and worked in the United States, much of their day was spent speaking French with either the children they worked with or their francophone colleagues at the school. Their English input probably remained somewhat constrained to conversations with children's parents or commercial settings outside of the school (e.g. shopping, dining, visiting an attraction). While there exist several similarities between the two participants due to their then-current situations, their educational background and experience with the English language varied.

The first participant of this study (pseudonym Sylvie), from Brittany, was 24 years old at the time of the study and had been studying English as a foreign language for the past 11 years. Although no test was given to measure her proficiency in English, Sylvie's self-reported proficiency in speaking was A2 (or intermediate-low), referencing the scale used by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). In Sylvie's case, English was her second language, and she had only limited knowledge of her third language (L3), German, which she had studied for four years in high school. She had completed a *licence*

(equivalent of a Bachelor's degree) in modern literature, and a Master's degree in teaching French as a foreign language. Before coming to teach in the United States, Sylvie had only spent ten days in England on a trip with her middle school at the age of 13; other than this short experience, this was the first time she spent a considerable amount of time (just over six weeks at the time of the recording) in an English-speaking country.

The second participant (pseudonym Marine), from Alsace, was 22 years old and had been studying English as a foreign language for nine years. In completing her *licence*, Marine majored in German as a foreign language. Although she had never before traveled to an English-speaking country until the year this study was conducted, her proficiency and control of the English language appeared much more advanced than Sylvie's. However, in Marine's case, English was not her L2 but rather her L4. Her first language was Alsatian, and she did not begin to learn French until she started school at the age of five. Once the school began to introduce foreign languages into the curriculum, she started studying German and English as her L3 and L4. She attributed her performance in English to her knowledge of other Germanic languages (i.e. Alsatian and German); she said that English came very easily to her and that since living in the United States (for just over six weeks at the date of this recording, like the first participant) she had been able to make a lot of progress. Again no official diagnostic was used in this study; Marine's self-reported proficiency level in speaking was B1+ (or intermediate-high) on the CEFR scale; in comparison to Sylvie, she was the more proficient learner.

Data Collection:

Data collection took place in a small pub in Minnesota over drinks; the atmosphere was informal and casual. Before consenting to partake in this study, participants were informed that

the nature of this research was to learn more about the way in which people learn a second or more languages. It is therefore assumed that the learners had no way of knowing that this particular study would look at the complexity, accuracy, and fluency of their 'enacted voices' and narratives in their speech. The prompt given to the learners from the researcher was very minimal. Participants were asked to speak to one another in English about anything that came to mind. This could include their friends, family, or professional lives; the only constraint given was the use of the target language (English) in discourse. The researcher was present at the time of the recording and made very few comments throughout the participants' conversation; no comments were made with the intention of eliciting specific information. The data gathered from this minimalistic prompt resulted in 30 minutes of audio-recorded oral interaction between the two learners spanning a variety of conversational topics and speech acts such as making future plans, eliciting and clarifying information from the interlocutor, and recounting narratives. For the purpose of this research study, the results and discussion that follow will focus primarily on the narratives and the enacted voices therein of the two learners that were identified by the researcher within the larger set of data elicited.

Data Analysis:

This study focused on narratives produced by the learners specifically in comparison with the voices they enacted within those narratives. The research question asks:

- Do the complexity, accuracy, or fluency of two English language learners seem to differ when they enact the voice of a perceived interlocutor or perceived self, versus when they recount a narrative?

Drawing on the work of Yule (1993), the present study distinguishes between directly quoted speech as 'enacted voice', and indirect or reported speech as in the speaker's own voice. By this distinction, direct speech forms are clearly tied to the moment of the original utterance and speaker while indirect speech forms are more remote (i.e. tied into the past and overtly mark by distance in time and space) from the actual speaking event being reported (Yule, 1993). "This effect makes the indirect speech forms more like a narrative account of an event, and distinct from the dramatic presentation of the event encoded in direct speech forms" (Yule, 1993, p. 18). In the present study, this dramatic presentation is equivalent to enacted voice. In narrative accounts, the reporter of indirect speech has greater control in recounting the speaking event; the narratives and indirect speech may thereby be considered as the speaker's personal interpretations of the utterance and not the original speaker's voice (Yule, 1993). Using this rationale, the study focused on the narrative retells, i.e. the retelling of an event or story, in which the speakers embedded both indirect speech forms and direct speech forms within the same social context.

While there exists a vast body of literature with different interpretations as to what constitutes a narrative, narratives in this study are identified in a very simplistic manner. Particularly, this study looked at conversational stories shared between the learners which, in the broadest sense, align with what Labov and Waletzky (1967) determine as the foundational function of the narrative: "one verbal technique for recapitulating experience—in particular, a technique of constructing narrative units that match the temporal sequence of that experience" (p. 4). Therefore, narratives were identified in the learners' speech as recapitulating personal experience as an event or a sequence of events including one or more characters and a central 'plot' (Kvernbekk, 2003; Labov & Waletzky, 1967). The plot, being at times inferred,

configured the events into a story and allowed for a temporal ordering of events if multiple events were included in the retelling. When Sylvie and Marine were recounting various narratives, at several points they constructed dialogue (Tannen, 1989) by enacting characters' voices. Three types of direct quotation were identified within the narratives: (1) direct quotations from other speakers marked with reporting verbs or quotatives such as *be like*; (2) direct quotations attributed to another speaker, where the speaker was no longer herself in the dialogue, introduced with a zero quotative and often accompanied by paralinguistic modulation of voice quality (see Laver, 1980; Mathis & Yule, 1994); (3) reenactments of the speaker's own voice through construction of a dialogue where the speaker is using deictics *you* and *your* or the imperative mood but no longer addressing her interlocutor in the second person. See the examples below of each type of direct quotation with the enacted voice underlined.

Ex. 1: Direct quotation of another with quotative:

27 M: Uh, if they do good things uh they receive uh little things, in, uh, in, in their
28 bucket, and, and Carlos was like, "Ohhh! We could give them twenty of them!"
29 *Ouais*. Uh, no.

Ex. 2: Direct quotation of another with zero quotative:

44 M: She, she sent a note to his parents because he was always
46 chatting and not listening, and, so in the morning he came and said "You
47 sent a note to my mom, and because of you I won't have any electronic uh
48 games uh for a week. So, please don't send a note to my mom again!"
49 S: "So please be nice in class!"
50 M: Yes. That's what it what she answered.

Ex. 3: Direct quotation of self:

100 S: Yeah, Maggie told me yesterday that all the parents in Edina i- who participate to
101 the neighborhood network they want to
102 M: drive us
103 S: drive us, yeah 'cause it's so cool to drive the interns.
104 M: So we have to be very nice in the car and
105 S: "Pay me for that, okay?"
106 M: But I think it's a little too late to ask the neighborhood network.

In the first (1) example, the enacted voice within the narrative is introduced by the quotative *be like* and constitutes a direct quotation from another speaker, Carlos. Following the quotation from Carlos, Marine adds her own thoughts and comments. In the second (2) example, Sylvie responds to Marine by introducing new dialogue into the narrative, attributing a directly quoted voice to a character in the narrative. This enacted voice does not use reporting verbs or quotatives such as *be like*, but a zero quotative; Mathis & Yule (1994) state that zero quotatives may be used to achieve a dramatic effect and a sense of urgency within the dialogue that would elsewise be negated by use of a reporting verb or quotative. In the third (3) and last example, Sylvie enacts, or directly quotes, her own voice in a hypothetical dialogue using the imperative mood; she is no longer addressing her interlocutor, Marine, in the second person. She acts out her own imagined response to the situation described through a performance, as opposed to reporting that response with indirect speech forms (Mathis & Yule, 1994).

The researcher identified all instances of enacted voice that occurred in the learners' narratives. While some enacted voices are evident from the syntax underlying the interaction between the two learners (e.g. direct quotations introduced by reporting verbs or quotatives such as *be like*), others are harder to identify by simply looking at the transcription, particularly attributed quotations to another speaker introduced with a zero quotative and accompanied by a change in voice quality. To confirm the reliability of the researcher's identification of instances of enacted voice within the narratives, four other raters were trained and asked to listen to the audio-recorded data and mark a blank copy of the transcription when they perceived an enacted voice in the interaction. The raters were native speakers of English and graduate students in an applied linguistics program. They were told the study's criteria for enacted voices (described in detail above), although not given any examples, and asked to listen and highlight parts of the

transcription where a speaker was acting out a voice. Out of the four trained raters, all four confirmed 96% of the segments (or *turns*) previously identified by the researcher as enacted voices. Three out of four raters confirmed all segments. The only voice segment (shown below in Example 4) not fully agreed upon proved problematic for one individual rater; although there was a perceived change in voice quality and (arguably) perspective within the dialogue the speaker constructed, the present syntax suggested that the segment followed indirect quotation speech patterns. Change in voice quality (falsetto voice) is perceived in the underlined portion.

Ex. 4

156-7 M: Yeah, and so she said that you, you have to hid it, behind a, the sheet, so that she
158 doesn't see it.

Because all four raters agreed with the researcher's identification of 96% of the segments and a majority (three of four) agreed with the one seen in Example 4, all segments were analyzed as examples of enacted voice within the narratives.

These enacted voice segments and the narratives that they were embedded in were transcribed and coded following Foster, Tonkyn, and Wigglesworth's (2000) analysis of speech unit (AS-unit), then analyzed in terms of complexity, accuracy, and fluency. An AS-unit is defined as "a single speaker's utterance consisting of an independent clause or sub-clausal unit, together with any subordinate clauses(s) associated with either" (p. 365). Foster *et al.* (2000) state that an independent clause consists of a subject (whether implied or explicit) and a finite verb; a sub-clausal unit refers to one or more phrases that can be made into a full clause by recovering reduced elements from context; a subordinate clause consists of a finite or nonfinite verb with at least one other clause element (subject, object, complement, or adverbial). Referencing the transcription[3], in accordance with Foster *et al.* (2000), AS-unit boundaries are

[3] See appendix for full transcription of oral data with narratives and enacted voices

marked with an upright slash ...|..., a clausal boundary within an AS-unit is marked with a double colon (::), and false starts, repetitions, and self-corrections are marked with brackets {...}. Pauses, for the purpose of measuring fluency in the CAF framework, are indicated in parentheses by the number of seconds that pass within a clause between words; (2) would specify that the duration of the pause was two seconds long. Examples 5 to 7 below (taken from the narratives) give a visual representation of how these data were coded.

Ex. 5
2 M: | She was really kind. | (1 clause, 1 AS-unit)

Ex. 6
42-3 S: | And when they are in red, :: they have a mail to the parents or (2) yeah,
43 something like that. | (2 clauses, 1 AS-unit, 1 pause for duration of 2 seconds)

Ex. 7
45-6 M: | {She,} she sent a note to his parents :: because he was always chatting and not
46 listening | (2 clauses, 1 AS-unit, 1 repetition at the beginning of the first clause)

In cases of false starts, repetitions, and self-corrections, only the most recent utterance (or correction) was included for analysis, unless the repetition served a rhetorical function. If a speaker was interrupted, the entirety of her speech was analyzed as one into AS-units as long as syntax allowed. The interruption and scaffolding (if applicable) were included in the interrupted speaker's AS-unit, provided the interrupted speaker finished the utterance with the scaffolded element included (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). See Example 8 below where lines 32-38 were analyzed as one long AS-unit:

Ex. 8:

32 S: | In Amendine's class, they have now,
33 something like, :: {if they (1) have,} if they have some teams in the class, three
34 or four teams, :: I don't remember, :: and {when they have} (1), when all the
35 kids will have all the points :: they have ten points to have, :: they will have
36 surprise like (1) {pajama

37 M: {pajama day}

38 S: day} pajama day, second recess, movie, some stuff like that. |

In addition, following Foster *et al.* (2000), because the interaction yielded a high proportion of minimal units, one-word utterances, such as '*yes*,' '*no*,' '*okay*,' '*uhuh*,' and '*mhmm*', were removed from the analysis in order to not distort the overall nature of L2 proficiency and use. This data analysis therefore finds itself at Foster *et al*.'s (2000) level two of application for highly interactive oral data.

When comparing the learners' narrative voices to the enacted voices within those narratives, the study combined both the parts of the narratives containing background (i.e. that set up the story and gave necessary information to understand the retell and the place of the dialogue present) and indirect reported speech segments, to constitute a 'narrative' category. The enacted voices were not included in the narrative counts. Enacted voices are marked by quotation marks "…" on the transcription. All speech that is not contained within quotation marks is categorized as part of the narrative category. Example 9 shows a narrative containing an enacted voice (by direct quotation), with the direct quotation underlined.

Ex. 9:

111 S: | Sleep, on the morning, long time, | and yeah I send a mail to Delphine and
112 David, my partner family | and I sayed us :: that I'm free on Saturday
113 afternoon or evening | and she answered me, :: "Uh, you can come with us to
114 the swimming meet of the girls. | It's between 10 and 2." | {No. No. Just no.}
115 | I don't want to. | And Max and Sophia are going there too. | It's the same
116 swimming pool. | {So just—No.}

To summarize, indirect quotations and the backstory are included in the narrative and set up the story; only the direct quotation is identified as an enacted voice in accordance with this study's identifying criteria.

By distinguishing narratives and enacted voices in this way, it was possible to compare the complexity, accuracy and fluency of narratives and enacted voices, as well as the errors that occurred in those discourse types. The 30-minute audio-recording of interaction between the two English learners was analyzed using measures that targeted complexity of sentence structure and linguistic form, accuracy of morphological and syntactic forms, and fluency concerning both temporal variables (breakdown fluency) as well as hesitation phenomena (repair fluency).

Measuring complexity:

There exist a variety of methods for measuring complexity of L2 production, whether oral or written, and use of these methods depends on the nature of the data under analysis. Measuring complexity is the most complicated, ambiguous and least understood of the CAF framework (Housen & Kuiken, 2009); Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005) identify no fewer than five different types of complexity measures, grouped according to the language aspect being referenced: (1) interactional, (2) propositional, (3) functional, (4) grammatical, and (5) lexical. In the present study, learners' speech was measured for grammatical complexity through subordination following Foster and Skehan (1996). The total number of separate clauses (independent clauses, sub-clausal units, and subordinate clauses) was divided by the total number of separate AS-units in a given learner's speech. The higher the whole number resulting from this calculation, the more complex the L2 production is.

Measuring accuracy:

Accuracy in language use, in its broadest definition, is the ability to produce error-free speech and/or writing (Ellis, 2009; Housen & Kuiken, 2009; Skehan & Foster, 1999). Like the other components of the CAF analysis, researchers have used many different methods to analyze accuracy in learner language. For the purpose of this study and in accordance with this study's measurement of complexity as indicated above, it appeared most appropriate to use a holistic, grammatically-based accuracy measure, focusing specifically on the percentage of error-free clauses using Foster and Skehan's (1996) model of accuracy analysis in CAF. To calculate the accuracy of the learners' speech in the present study, the total number of error-free clauses was divided by the total number of clauses, and then multiplied by 100: the higher the percentage, the more accurate the L2 production.

In addition to the holistic measure of accuracy, this study also takes into consideration which errors are present in the learners' speech to further analyze patterns in the narratives and enacted voices. Structures and grammatical aspects that were not determined to be accurate constructions included a variety of morphological and syntactic errors such as the lack of a plural 's' on a plural count noun (1), subject verb agreement (2), missing object pronoun (3), incorrect verb tense (4), incorrect definite or indefinite article use (5), and word choice or lexicon (6), for example. Other like errors were also identified and counted, albeit not included in the sample list below titled Table 1. As well, each time a learner switched to speaking French or using a French word as a substitute for a word she did not know in English, this was also counted as an error (7). This is not to say that the speaker's use of French was inaccurate, but that it was determined to be an error in accordance with this study's purposes.

Table 1: Examples of Errors Present in Learners' Speech

Ex.	Line		
(1)	113 114	M:	| And so in the third grade **teacher** will dress up as {a, a cha-} a character of Inside Out, for Halloween. |
(2)	11	S:	| {He's,} he **come** from South America, or, yeah, a Latin country. |
(3)	126	M:	| Why did you do? |
(4)	108	S:	| and yeah I **send** a mail to Delphine and David, my partner family |
(5)	19	M:	| Oh, and was it **the** good match? |
(6)	165	M:	| Sometimes uh I **complain** with her :: because she has to be with […] |
(7)	120	S:	| We were eating in the ***le coin des profs*** |

Measuring fluency:

In measuring fluency in learner language, two principal features of fluency have been targeted: temporal variables and hesitation phenomena (Lennon, 1990; Wiese, 1984, as cited in Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). For a well-supported analysis of fluency, this study considered both. Fluency was measured in accordance with Skehan and Foster's (1999) framework. Breakdown fluency (temporal variables) was measured by calculating the mean length of all pauses beyond a threshold of one second within a clause; the higher the whole number, the more disfluent the speaker is. If a pause was placed at the very beginning or end of the AS-unit, it was not considered to be a breakdown in fluency but rather a break in the conversation, which is common for both L1 and L2 speakers and does not necessarily show the latter to be less fluent. Repair fluency (hesitation phenomena) was measured by counting the number of false starts, repetitions, reformulations, and replacements among the speaker's utterances. The higher the ratio of hesitation phenomena to total clauses, the less fluent the speech is.

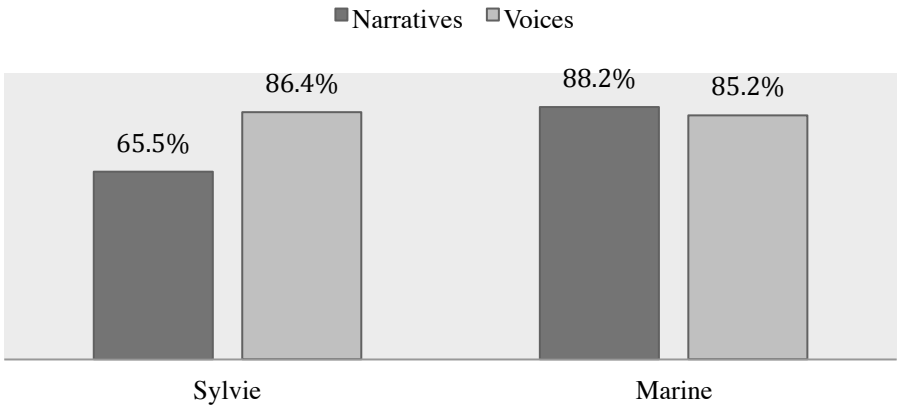
Results:

The results of these analyses show clear differences between each speaker's narrative discourse versus enacted voices.

Accuracy:

Analysis of grammatical accuracy and the errors that occur in the learners' narrative discourse and enacted voices resulted in the strongest and most striking finding. The present study found that there is a shift in accuracy when speakers move between narrative discourse and enacted speech. Figure 2 illustrates the grammatical accuracy of the learners' narrative discourse and enacted voices as percentages.

Figure 2: Accuracy in Narrative vs. Enacted Voices



For both speakers, grammatical accuracy is different in the enacted voices as compared to that in narrative discourse. For Sylvie, her enacted voices are clearly more accurate than her narrative discourse. Out of her 139 clauses constituting a narrative, 91 clauses were identified as being error-free, for a mean accuracy of 65.5%. Of the 22 clauses determined to be enacted voices in Sylvie's speech, 19 were found to be error-free, for a mean accuracy of 86.4%. In Sylvie's case,

her narrative discourse is less grammatically accurate than her enacted voices; this is shown by a perceivably large increase in grammatical accuracy (difference is 20.9%) in the shift to enacted voices.

For Marine, Figure 2 shows a much smaller difference in accuracy, in the opposite direction. Eighty-two out of 93 narrative clauses were error-free, for a mean accuracy of 88.2%. Marine's enacted voice accuracy is 85.2% (23/27 clauses), which is only marginally lower than her accuracy rate in narrative discourse (a difference of 3%). Marine's narratives and enacted voices differ in accuracy, but not to as large a degree as Sylvie's.

In addition to the holistic measure of accuracy, this study also took into consideration which errors were present in the learners' narratives and enacted voices. In many cases, the same errors that were present in the learners' enacted voices were also found in their narratives. One example of such an error that occurred both in Sylvie's narrative discourse and in her enacted voices is the misgendered pronoun. Example 10 illustrates such a crossover of error in context with the enacted voice underlined. Milo, the referent for the possessive determiners, is a young boy.

Ex. 10

134 S: | {My, ah!} Milo, her mom, :: who invited me, :: she said :: that she is doing a
135 Halloween party in October :: I don't remember when, | but she invited me
136 here | and she said :: "Yeah there will be some kids of her class." | {OK—No!}

What is interesting about other errors in Sylvie's speech, however, is that some errors occur in her narrative discourse but do not occur in her enacted voices, even in the same obligatory context. One might say that in one type of discourse, Sylvie does not know the rule. But, when Sylvie shifts to enacting the speech of a perceived interlocutor or perceived self, someone who does know the rule, she produces the targeted linguistic structure free of error. An

example of this phenomenon is seen with an error in word choice—using *mail* in lieu of *email*. In French, '*mail*' translates to email and to a French speaker the use of *mail* instead of *email* may not seem important to monitor. Sylvie uses the word *mail* in place of *email* nine times throughout her narrative discourse. While *mail* and *email* are very close in both their orthography and (slightly) in meaning, it remains that this semantic error could lead to misinterpretations by the interlocutor. Table 2 shows four examples of *mail* that occurred in Sylvie's narrative discourse; in each case, she is talking with Marine, another French speaker, who would arguably understand its usage to mean an email and not a piece of mail delivered through the postal service.

Table 2: Examples of Errors with *mail* in Sylvie's Narrative Discourse

Line		
51	S:	| I would like :: that {the} all the teachers in the class take the best **mails** of
52		the parents :: to do, like, *florilège* like that in English, | I don't know, | the
53		best **mails** (2) :: to have a book. |
57	S:	| Of {the m-m} the **mail** :: that the parents send to the teacher. | It's just crazy
58		sometime. |
108	S:	| and yeah I send a **mail** to Delphine and David, my partner family | and I sayed
109		us :: that I'm free on Saturday afternoon or evening |

In contrast, Example 11 shows the one time in the entire transcription that Sylvie correctly produces the word *email*, in lines 77-8 in her enacted voice segments.

Ex. 11		
77	S	so I {gi-} gave her an answer two weeks after like :: "Oh, I didn't check my {e-}
78		professional **email**. | I'm a good teacher. | Don't worry!" |

In this utterance, Sylvie is no longer addressing Marine but is instead constructing discourse where her addressee is a native speaker of English (the mother of a student from her class). In

that specific instance, it is possible that the distinction of Sylvie's perceived interlocutor was important enough that she needed to use the correct form of the word, *email*. This may lead one to believe that she knows the word and difference in its meaning, and yet only uses it when addressing a native speaker of English.

Another error that occurred in Sylvie's narrative discourse but not in her enacted voices was subject-verb agreement, specifically third-person singular in the present tense. In all other instances, Sylvie uses the base-form of the verb in third-person singular contexts for all verbs with the exception of the irregular verb *to be*. Table 3 shows only a few examples of this error occurring in Sylvie's narrative discourse, although many more exist in the transcription.

Table 3: Examples of Sylvie's Errors with Third-Person Singular –s in Present Tense Narrative Discourse

Line		
11	S:	| {He's,} he **come** from South America, or, yeah, a Latin country. |
14-5	S:	| and I think :: that he never **teach** with the first grade and second grade and third […] |
20-1	S:	| The way Victor **manage** the class. |

Example 12 shows the very noticeable shift from erroneous use in narrative discourse to the sole time that Sylvie correctly uses the third-person singular present tense, when she enacts a voice in line 68.

Ex. 12

64 S: | But Amendine {sayed me that} told me :: that she receive a mail {of} of a
65 father :: who ask her :: to say to his son :: that the one of his toy :: were locked
66 in a tree on their garden :: was now in her bedroom | and he take the toys in
67 the tree :: I don't know what | (1) and just he sent a mail to Amendine :: to
68 say ::"You can say to my son :: that he **has** now his toy." |

It may be that Sylvie is on the threshold of acquiring the third-person singular in present tense, and for the moment is only able to use it through appropriating someone else's more proficient voice—a native speaker of English. Or, it may be that this direct quotation is a chunk of language for Sylvie, and she is unconscious of the fact that it happens to correctly use third-person singular –s.

For Marine, there also appears to be some grammatical distinction between these two speech categories; however in contrast to Sylvie, with Marine the error appeared in the enacted voice and not in her narrative discourse. In Table 4, there is an error in question formation that appears in the voice Marine enacts as an attributed direct quotation to Sylvie.

Table 4: Error in Question Formation in Marine's Enacted Voice

Line		
122	S:	{Yeah,} | and Lesley was here too | and, so Victor, Clarice, me, and Noah. | And
123		Noah was talking with Lesley | and Lesley ask her for the costume, | and
124		Noah just say :: "Oh yeah, we're doing all the characters of Mario" | and
125		Victor, Clarice, and me were like :: "Noah, it's a secret." |
126	M:	| **"Why did you do?"** |
127	S:	| "Oh, I didn't know that." | How it's possible. | {So, yeah.}

Comparing this question in Marine's enacted speech (line 126) to other questions that she poses in her narrative discourse, there is a difference, as we can see in the following examples taken from Marine's narrative discourse:

Ex. 13
40 M: | And what do you think, | does it work well? Or…? |

Ex. 14
94 M: {Okay.} | And so, what do you want me :: to ask Gera? |

Ex. 15
132 M: | And, {d-} um, do you think :: there will be a Halloween party on Saturday ::
133 where we will all go or? |

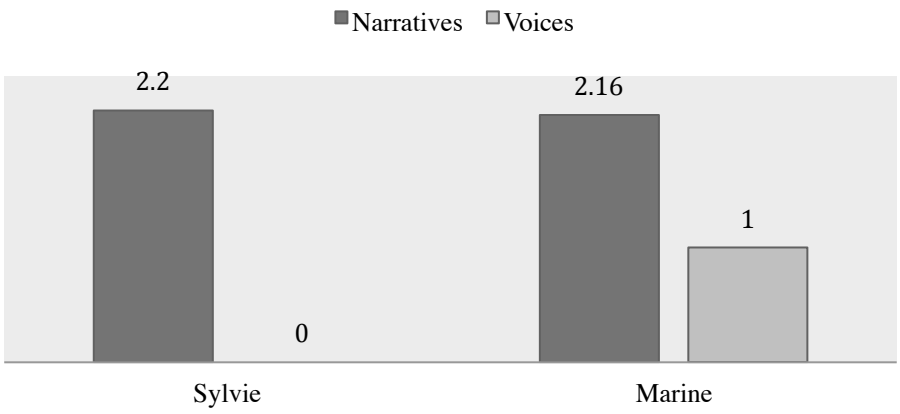
Unlike other questions posed by Marine throughout the discourse, the erroneous question in Table 4 either lacks a necessary pronoun or demonstrative (e.g. *it*, *that*), or it uses the wrong question word (*why* in place of *what*, for example, in "What did you do?"). Interestingly enough, in the context in which it manifests, Marine appears to be attributing this voice to Sylvie in the dialogue. Due to the fact that Sylvie is at a lower level of proficiency than Marine, it is possible that Marine is downshifting her proficiency level as she takes on Sylvie's voice. It is also possible that this is an internalized phrase from Sylvie that Marine heard on another occasion and is re-appropriating for this specific context.

While the shift in grammatical accuracy differs in direction between narrative discourse and enacted voices for the two learners, the reasons for the difference in direction of shift have been shown to be complex. The fact that a shift occurs at all is key. Although some may say that the change in lexicon when enacting the voice of another speaker is not a rare occurrence (as we see often with various impressions of performances usually intended to entertain), the change in grammar (i.e. verb conjugation, question formation) is very striking.

Fluency:

There was a strong measured difference in fluency, in terms of both breakdown fluency and repair fluency, between the learners' narrative discourse and enacted voices. Figure 3 illustrates the distribution of breakdown fluency (the average pause length in seconds) between the learners' narrative discourse and enacted voices.

Figure 3: Breakdown Fluency (Mean Pause Length in Seconds)



In Sylvie's narratives, there was one filled pause (less than one second) and 14 unfilled pauses. Five of the unfilled pauses exceeded one second in length; four lasted for two seconds and one lasted for three seconds. Sylvie's average pause length, or breakdown fluency, in narrative discourse was 2.2 seconds. In comparison, there were no filled or unfilled pauses whatsoever in Sylvie's 22 clauses identified as enacted voices. Sylvie's breakdown fluency of 0 in her enacted voices is thus much better than that in her narrative discourse (2.2).

For Marine's narratives, there were 21 filled pauses and seven unfilled pauses. Only one filled pause lasted longer than one second (two seconds long). Five of the seven pauses exceeded one second in length; four unfilled pauses lasted for two seconds and one unfilled

pause lasted for three seconds. In narrative discourse, Marine's average pause length, or breakdown fluency was 2.16 seconds. In comparison, in her enacted voices (27 clauses), there was a 1.0 second mean length of pauses – five filled pauses and one unfilled pause, none of which lasted longer than one second. Thus, clear increase in breakdown fluency is demonstrated in a 1.0 second mean length of pauses in Marine's enacted voices, as compared to the less fluent mean length of pauses in her narrative discourse (2.16). On this measure, both speakers were more fluent in their enacted speech than in their narrative discourse, but as we saw on the accuracy measure, the difference between discourse types is more dramatic for Sylvie than for Marine.

Regarding repair fluency, the four types identified by Skehan and Foster (1999) are included in Table 5 below as they relate to Sylvie's narrative discourse and enacted voices. In addition to the number of times each type was identified, a percentage is given to indicate its representation out of all of Sylvie's hesitation phenomena found in her speech.

Table 5: Repair Fluency in Sylvie's Narrative Discourse vs. Enacted Voices

	Narratives		Enacted Voices	
Type of Repair	**Number**	**Percentage**	**Number**	**Percentage**
False starts	14	74%	1	100%
Repetitions	5	26%	-	-
Reformulation	-	-	-	-
Replacements	-	-	-	-
Total:	**19**	100%	**1**	100%

Table 5 shows in Sylvie's narratives a total of 19 instances of hesitation phenomena out of a total of 139 clauses produced. For her enacted voices, there is only one such instance.

This one hesitation, out of a total of 22 clauses produced in Sylvie's enacted voices, configures a ratio of 1:22 (or 4.5%), which is much lower than her narrative discourse hesitation ratio (19:139, or 13.7%). Thus, there is a clear increase in repair fluency in Sylvie's enacted voices when compared to her fluency in narrative discourse. Example 16 below shows this dramatic increase of fluency within the narrative context with the enacted voice underlined.

Ex. 16

64 S: | But Amendine {sayed me that} told me :: that she receive a mail {of} of a
65 father :: who ask her :: to say to his son :: that the one of his toy :: were locked
66 in a tree on their garden :: was now in her bedroom | and he take the toys in
67 the tree :: I don't know what | (1) and just he sent a mail to Amendine :: to
68 say ::"You can say to my son :: that he has now his toy."

As Sylvie sets up the story, it is clear that there is both breakdown in terms of fluency by pausing, as well as by false starts and repetition. In contrast, the enacted voice is produced without any hesitation or pausing. It is possible that this is because the enacted voice has been rehearsed to a certain degree; the request from the father to the teacher (Amendine) may have rooted itself in Sylvie's mind, as it was something she clearly gave some thought to and was important enough to bring up again in conversation with Marine when recounting this narrative.

Table 6 below shows Marine's repair fluency; the four types along with a percentage are given to allow us to compare hesitation phenomena within Marine's narrative discourse versus enacted voices. On this measure of fluency, there is not as clear a difference between Marine's narrative discourse and enacted voices.

Table 6: Repair Fluency in Marine's Narrative Discourse vs. Enacted Voices

	Narratives		Enacted Voices	
Type of Repair	**Number**	**Percentage**	**Number**	**Percentage**
False starts	7	37%	2	33%
Repetitions	11	58%	3	50%
Reformulation	-	-	-	-
Replacements	1	5%	1	17%
Total:	**19**	100%	**6**	100%

Table 6 shows that out of a total of 93 clauses produced in Marine's narrative discourse there is a total of 19 instances of hesitation phenomena; a total of 6 instances are counted for hesitation phenomena in Marine's enacted voices, out of the 27 clauses produced. Comparing the repair fluency ratio in her enacted voices of 6:27 (or 22%) to her narrative repair fluency ratio (19:93, or 20.4%), the results suggest a marginal increase in hesitation phenomena and a decrease in the repair fluency (by a difference of 1.6%) of Marine's enacted voice segments as compared to that in her narrative discourse. Example 17 below shows data in which the fluency of both the narrative and enacted voice appear comparable; the enacted voice is underlined.

Ex. 17

180 M: | And if the teachers forget :: to uh (2) check {the} who is there and :: who is not
181 there, :: she calls the phone in the classroom. | Oh no! {She,} she makes an
182 announcement. | She says :: "Sophie {T-}, uh, Sophie Krasher, please call the
183 office." |

Contrary to Sylvie, Marine's enacted voices appear perhaps less rehearsed. It may be the case that she is retrieving these voices from a distant time or space, or that she has never before discussed this occurrence with another individual and therefore has less practice producing the voice.

Complexity:

Complexity also shifted for both Sylvie and Marine, although again in different ways. Figure 4 shows Sylvie's and Marine's mean complexity (measured by number of clauses per AS unit) in enacted voices as compared with the mean complexity of their narrative discourse. In both cases, the speakers shifted their grammatical complexity when moving from narrative discourse to enacted voices; however, the shift was in different directions.

Figure 4: Mean Complexity in Narratives vs. Enacted Voices
Number of Clauses per AS-Unit

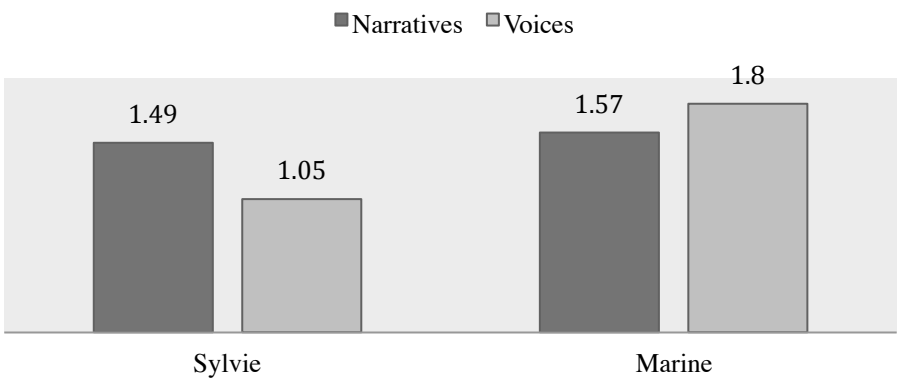


Figure 4 shows that Sylvie's narrative discourse is more grammatically complex than her enacted voices, while Marine's narrative discourse is less grammatically complex than her enacted voices. While the difference in means is shown visually for both learners in Figure 4, how this shift is produced in the learners' speech is demonstrated in Examples 18 and 19 below. The enacted voices are underlined.

Ex. 18

M: | {There,} there was one um :: "Oh, {my,} my son will not come at school at all next week :: because we have a trip to Italy, and um :: because my daughter um is in touch with a stylist :: and there is a fashion week :: and we are invited. | So the whole family's going there. | So, sorry :: he won't be at school for a week."|

Ex. 19

S: | But Amendine {sayed me that} told me :: that she receive a mail {of} of a father :: who ask her :: to say to his son :: that the one of his toy :: were locked in a tree on their garden :: was now in her bedroom | and he take the toys in the tree :: I don't know what | (1) and just he sent a mail to Amendine :: to say ::"You can say to my son :: that he has now his toy." | "Like, we are at school. | I receive a ton of mail in the day. | I don't have the time for that. | You can maybe wait the end of the day." | {Yeah.}

Both shifted their grammatical complexity when moving between narrative and enacted voices, but what is interesting is that this was done differently for each learner. In many instances in Marine's speech (like that in Example 18), Marine very briefly introduces the narrative and dives right into the enacted voice. In such cases, the direct quotation itself tells the story, often using complex syntax, and there is no need for Marine to give more than a short and simple narrative background in order for her interlocutor to understand the events and their temporal order, setting, or outcome. However, in Sylvie's case, the reverse is shown. Example 19 shows how Sylvie takes time to set up the story and that much of her narrative consists of her own (often complex) interpretation of the events. Consequently, once she begins to enact the voice of another, the phrases produced are simple in terms of their grammatical complexity.

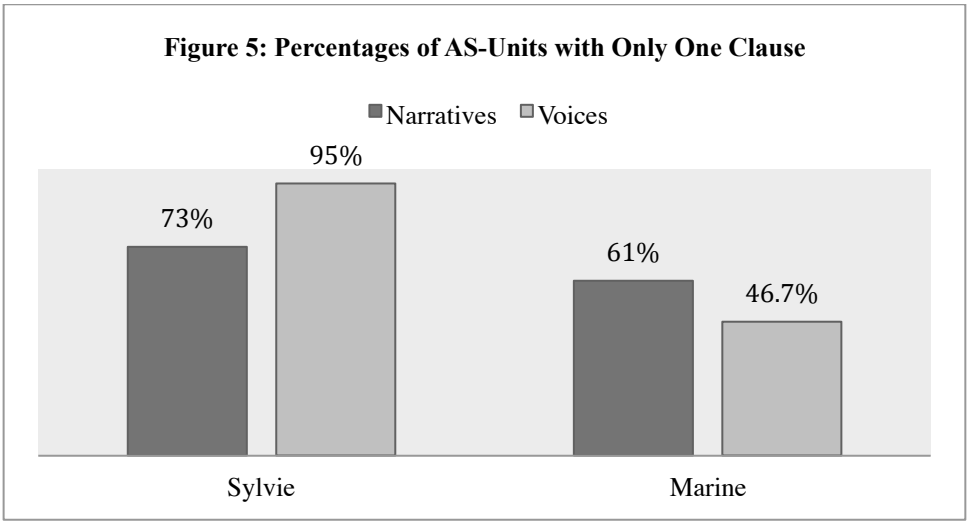


Figure 5 offers another way of representing this shift in grammatical complexity; as Sylvie's narrative discourse is more complex, it contains fewer single-clause AS units, and as Marine's discourse is less complex, it contains more single-unit AS units. As was seen with the study's measures of accuracy and fluency, there is a difference between the two learners. Often the difference is in how the speech shifts when enacting voices versus recounting narratives. However, perhaps it is less important in which direction the shift occurs, than that there is a shift to clearly differentiate the speakers' own narrative voices from the voices they enact.

Discussion:

We have seen that there does in fact seem to be a difference in the complexity, accuracy, and fluency of the two learners' language when they enact the voice of a perceived interlocutor or perceived self, as compared to their narrative discourse. The most striking finding was the difference in accuracy between narrative discourse and enacted voices. In regard to accuracy, it was demonstrated that with a narrative accuracy of 65.5% and an enacted voice accuracy of 86.4%, Sylvie's enacted voices were a lot more accurate than her narratives. Although Marine's

mean grammatical accuracy in her narrative discourse (88.2%) and enacted voices (85.2%) was similar, the reasons for her shifts in accuracy were possibly more complex, since Marine sometimes enacted the voice of Sylvie, a less accurate speaker than herself. Looking specifically at the types of errors that occur in the narratives and enacted voices, there were key differences. This was seen not only in terms of lexicon (Sylvie's correct use of the word *email* when the perceived interlocutor was a native speaker of English) but also grammar. For Sylvie, the only time she correctly used third-person singular –s in the entire transcription was when she enacted the voice of a native speaker of English. For Marine, the only time she made an error in question formation was when she attributed a voice to Sylvie (a less proficient speaker) as a direct quotation.

In terms of fluency, this study saw an overall increase in fluency (measured by breakdown or pausing) in both participants' enacted voices in comparison to their narrative discourse. For Sylvie, this increase in fluency was dramatic. In terms of breakdown fluency, she went from an average pause length of 2.2 seconds in her narrative discourse to an average pause length of 0 in her enacted voices. In Martine's enacted voices, there was also a large increase in fluency in terms of pause length; she moved from a pause length of 2.16 seconds in her narrative discourse to less than 1 second in her enacted voices.

In terms of grammatical complexity, there is a shift for both learners. While the shift moves in different directions for Sylvie and Marine, it is interesting both that there is a shift at all and what this might mean for how the two learners use and enact these voices in their own speech.

The present study's findings lead us to ask ourselves why these shifts in accuracy, fluency, and (sometimes) complexity occur between narrative discourse and enacted voices, and

what possible implications this may have on SLA theory and L2 teaching practice. In terms of theoretical implications, the findings offer support to the variationist position that interlanguage variation in social context affects acquisition. In this study, the social causes of variation are internal to the learners; these causes are not identifiable in the objective external social context as in previous studies. When interacting, there is neither physical change of environment nor actual change in interlocutor. While the objective social context stays the same, the speakers enact others' voices in relation to internally imagined social contexts. This results in the documented variation in their grammar and lexicon. In other words, these voices have been internalized and acquired; they have become part of the learners' interlanguage and result in variable patterns of grammar and vocabulary when enacted.

However, how this demonstrated change in learners' interlanguage competence relates to acquisition itself is complicated. While it is possible that the structures first used in a speaker's enacted voice lead to acquisition as she continues using them after this study was conducted (which would have only been possible to confirm with a longitudinal study), it is also possible that the use of certain structures in a speaker's enacted voice is a result of previous acquisition. As well, it depends on how acquisition is defined and understood. Does acquisition only occur when the speaker uses the structure in her own voice (i.e. the study's narrative category), as use in enacted voice may only be an unanalyzed chunk of language? Or, does a single use mark (at a minimum) the beginning of acquisition after which the learner continues to grapple with the structure until she is able to use it without error? If we consider a single (perhaps first) use of a linguistic structure as the (beginning) point of acquisition, then the documented change in the learner's interlanguage competence demonstrated in this study contradicts Long's (1998 as cited in Tarone, 2000a) claim that social context is solely a performance variable affecting language

production in the moment; these data would support that social context directly affects acquisition.

But other questions are raised by these data, namely why is there difference between the two learners in their different patterns of CAF in narrative and enacted voice? How may it be that Sylvie becomes more accurate when enacting others' voices, and Marine does not? Is it individual variation? Or is it that less-proficient learners may be more likely to produce unanalyzed chunks of speech in enacting someone else's voice in constructed dialogue? These shifts in grammatical accuracy bring us to consider why this is, and what effect social context has in these shifts. Does a learner willingly choose to conform to or (like Marine) break grammar rules in varying situations for social purposes? Or, may social context itself and the identity of the perceived speaker or interlocutor have such a strong effect on the shape of the learners' linguistic utterances that this occurs not by choice but because the voices within their interlanguage system have a predefined structure that is directly tied to the original or attributed speakers? Such occurrences, shown in the data, suggest as much, and raise further support for the notion that learners' internalized voices, enacted in their storytelling, retain elements from their original speakers (Bakhtin, 1934/1981; Tarone, 2000b).

Drawing on the work of Bakhtin, it is clear that the concept of heteroglossia has important implications for SLA theory. It appears that the myriad voices learners hear in the L2 can resurface in their own production of the target language. While this is, at times, directly embedded through quotation, it is possible that these voices reappear in other pieces of language that are less obvious to interlocutors and perhaps to the speaker herself. Blending Vygotskyian and Bakhtinian lenses, it is argued that all language is internalized through social context; this may be through social mediation, specifically, or centripetal forces working in the human psyche

to internalize the language that surrounds us in everyday life. Nevertheless, it remains that heteroglossia may be one of the leading social factors that contribute to second language acquisition, and it is important to utilize this as a tool for L2 instruction.

There are also interesting implications for teaching. Already, as speakers of our first, second or more languages, we find ourselves enacting the voices of others for social, generic, and/or functional purposes. This is as much the case in our first language(s) as it is in those later acquired. Therefore, instead of this naturally occurring phenomenon remaining in the periphery of L2 learning and teaching practice, teachers should harness it and bring it into the classroom as a tool to further develop learners' interlanguage. Showing learners how they already use voices in their speech could provide them with further insight into their own language use. As well, having learners participate in classroom theatrics such as role plays, act out scenes from a film, show, or play, tell stories, and/or dramatize readings in the classroom could allow for students to take on more proficient speakers' voices as full chunks of target language (as seen in this study through direct quotation) and internalize these in their own heteroglossic language repertoire. Not only might lexical and grammatical forms in more accurate and fluent voices become part of the learners' own repertoire, but other benefits may come as well in terms of more target-like pronunciation, intonation, and prosody (Gorsuch, Meyers, Pickering, & Griffee, 2013; Meyers, 2013; Moreno, 2015). By expanding learners' interlanguage repertoire with more proficient, target-like voices, educators would be giving learners the necessary input to nurture and grow their interlanguage through social context. As we explore the 'social turn' in SLA theory, nothing seems more apropos.

Conclusion:

The present study supports the idea of heteroglossia and its contributions to language learning in SLA theory. By blending sociolinguistic and sociocultural frameworks, this study attempts to fill a gap that otherwise remains unexplored in SLA research; it is believed that more studies of this nature are necessary. In exploration of whether the complexity, accuracy, or fluency of two English language learners differed when they enacted the voice of a perceived interlocutor or perceived self, versus when they recounted a narrative, this study found that all three measures of the CAF framework did in fact differ. The most striking findings were the perceived difference in grammatical accuracy and overall fluency; complexity also shifted, but in different directions for the two learners. These findings support the notion that an individual may have variable linguistic systems, and raise other important theoretical and practical implications for SLA research and L2 instruction.

References:

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination. Four essays*. M. Holquist (Ed.). (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press. (Original work published in 1934)

Bayley, R., & Tarone, E. (2011). Variationist perspectives. In S. Gass & A. Mackey (Eds.), *Handbook of Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 41-56). New York, NY: Routledge.

Beebe, L. (1980). Sociolinguistic variation and style-shifting in second language acquisition. *Language Learning, 30*, 433–47.

Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society*, *13*, 145-204.

Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (Eds.). (2014). Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy. *Educational Linguistics*, *20*, 1-20.

Block, D. (2003). *The social turn in second language acquisition*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Broner, M. (2001). Impact of interlocutor and task on first and second language use in a Spanish immersion program. *CARLA Working Paper, 18*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Corder, S. (1967). The significance of learners' errors. *IRAL*, *5*(4), 161–70.

Ellis, R. (2008). *The study of second language acquisition* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. (2009). The differential effects of three types of task planning on the fluency, complexity, and accuracy in L2 oral production. *Applied Linguistics*, *30*(4), 474-509.

Ellis, R., & Barkhuizen, G. (2005). *Analysing learner language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Foster, P., & Skehan, P. (1996). The influence of planning and task type on second language

performance. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *18*, 299-323.

Foster, P., Tonkyn, A., & Wigglesworth, G. (2000). Measuring spoken language. *Applied Linguistics*, *21*(3), 354-75.

Gass, S., & Selinker, L. (2008). *Second language acquisition: An introductory course,* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Geeslin, K., & Long, A. (2014). *Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition: Learning to use language in context.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Gorsuch, G., Meyers, C., Pickering, L., & Griffee, D. (2013). For ITAs: Techniques for improving discourse intonation. In *English communication for international teaching assistant* (2nd ed., pp. 167-74). Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Housen, A., & Kuiken, F. (2009). Complexity, accuracy, and fluency in second language acquisition. *Applied Linguistics*, *30*(4), 461-73.

Kvernbekk, T. (2003). On identifying narratives. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, *22*, 267-79.

Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, *7*(1-4), 3-38.

Lantolf, J. (2000). *Sociocultural theory and second language learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lantolf, J. (2006). Sociocultural theory and L2: State of the art. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 28*(1), 67-109.

Lantolf, J., & Beckett, T. (2009). Sociocultural theory and second language acquisition. *Language Teaching, 42*(4), 459-75.

Lantolf, J., Thorne, S., & Poehner, M. (2015). Sociocultural theory and second language

development. In B. VanPatten & J. Williams (Eds.), *Theories in second language acquisition: An introduction* (2nd ed., pp. 207-26). New York, NY: Routledge.

Laver, J. (1980). *The phonetic description of voice quality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lennon, P. (1990). Investigating fluency in EFL: A quantitative approach. *Language Learning*, *40*, 387-417.

Long, M. (1998). SLA: Breaking the siege. *University of Hawai'i Working Papers in ESL*, *17*, 79-129.

Mathis, T., & Yule, G. (1994). Zero quotatives. *Discourse Processes*, *18*, 63-76.

Meyers, C. (2013). Mirroring project update: Intelligible accented speakers as pronunciation models. *TESOL Video News: The Newsletter of the Video and Digital Media Interest Sections*. Retrieved from http://newsmanager.commpartners.com/tesolvdmis/issues/2013-07-27/6.html.

Moreno, L. (2015). *Channeling Charlie: An advanced learner's performance of others' voices*. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *IRAL*, *10*, 209–41.

Selinker, L., & Douglas, D. (1985). Wrestling with 'context' in interlanguage theory. *Applied Linguistics, 6*, 190–204.

Skehan, P. (1998). *A cognitive approach to language learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Skehan, P., & Foster, P. (1999). The influence of task structure and processing conditions on narrative retellings. *Language Learning*, *49*, 93–120.

Tannen, D. (1989). *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational*

discourse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarone, E. (1979). Interlanguage as chameleon. *Language Learning*, *29*, 181–91.

Tarone, E. (1983). On the variability of interlanguage systems. *Applied Linguistics*, *4*, 142-63.

Tarone, E. (2000a). Still wrestling with 'context' in interlanguage theory. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *20*, 182-98.

Tarone, E. (2000b). Getting serious about language play: Language play, interlanguage variation and second language acquisition. In B. Swierzbin, F. Morris, M. Anderson, C. Klee & E. Tarone (Eds.), *Social and cognitive factors in SLA: Proceedings of the 1999 second language research forum* (pp. 31-54). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.

Tarone, E., & Liu, G. (1995). Situational context, variation and SLA theory. In G. Cook & B. Seidlhofer (Eds.), *Principle and practice in applied linguistics: Studies in honour of H. G. Widdowson* (pp. 107–24). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The Douglas Fir Group. (2016). Rethinking research into language learning and teaching in a multilingual world. *Modern Language Journal, 100*(Supplement 2016), 19-47.

Vygotsky, L. (1981). The genesis of higher mental functions. In J. Wertsch (Ed.), *The concept of activity in soviet psychology* (pp. 144-88). Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Wiese, R. (1984). Language production in foreign and native languages: Same or different? In H. Dechert, D. Möhle, & M. Raupach (Eds.) *Second language productions* (pp. 11-25). Tubingen: Gunter Narr.

Yule, G. (1993). Reported discourse in contemporary English. *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*, *26-27*, 17-26.

Appendix:

Transcription of narratives and enacted voices for ‘Sylvie’ and ‘Marine’:

1 S: | And so how was the substitute today? |

2 M: | She was really kind. |

3 S: | “Really nice! | Everyone is nice.” |

4 M: | Yes, really nice but kind of slow. | And, umm, my teacher uh, uh wanted ::
5 that we do some things with the kids. | And she was just talking a lot about
6 herself | and so we hadn’t the time :: to do everything. |

7 S: | Did you already have Carlos? |

8 M: {Yes.}

9 S: | He’s kind… |

10 M: | Very slow too. |

11 S: {Yeah.} | {He’s,} he come from South America, or, yeah, a Latin country. | I
12 don’t know where. | And he’s a substitute | but he’s really (2) calm, and

13 M: {relax}

14 S: relax, | and I think :: that he never teach with the first grade and second
15 grade and third grades before. |

16 M: {No.} | When I came into the classroom, :: uh when he was there, :: there were
17 children running everywhere, screaming, uh laying on the carpet, fighting. |

18 S: | He was with Victor today, this morning. |

19 M: | Oh, and was it the good match? |

20 S: | Oh, well, I don’t think so. | With Victor, I don’t think so. | The way Victor
21 manage the class. | So it’s okay | but I had a substitute today too | and she
22 was nice. | {She just (3) made the} (1) she participate to the rotations on the
23 morning | and that’s all | but yeah she was good with the kids |

M: | And Carlos uh likes the (2) uh (2) :: you know :: we, we give them little, uh (3) *merde* (2) |

S: *Comment?*

M: | Uh, if they do good things :: uh they receive uh little things, in, uh, in, in their bucket, | and (2) and Carlos was like :: "Ohh! We could give them twenty of them!" | *Ouais.* {Uh, no.}

S: | Because when their box is uh full, :: they have a (1) party. |

M: | party or a popcorn {film} movie |

S: | They do a lot of thing like that. | In Amendine's class, they have now, something like, :: {if they (1) have,} if they have some teams in the class, three or four teams, :: I don't remember, :: and {when they have} (1), when all the kids will have all the points :: they have ten points to have, :: they will have surprise like (1) {pajama

M: {pajama day}

S: day} pajama day, second recess, movie, some stuff like that. | And, yeah, I don't know :: how it was going |

M: | And what do you think, | does it work well? Or…? |

S: {Yeah} | 'cause they have also the thing with the color cards, the green, yellow, orange, red. | And when they are in red, :: they have a mail to the parents or (2) yeah, something like that. | So they want :: to be just in green. |

M: | And today um Karen {the} the other teacher, just uh told us about one student. | {She,} she sent a note to his parents :: because he was always chatting and not listening, | and, so in the morning he came and said :: "You sent a note to my mom, and :: because of you :: I won't have any electronic uh games uh for a week. | So, please don't send a note to my mom again!" |

S: | "So please be nice in class!" |

M: {Yes} | That's :: {what it }what she answered. |

S: | I would like :: that {the} all the teachers in the class take the best mails of the parents :: to do, like, *florilège* like that in English, | I don't know, | the best mails (2) :: to have a book. |

M: | Best of? |

S: | Yeah, the best of. | It would be really fun. |

I: Of what?

S: | Of {the m-m} the mail :: that the parents send to the teacher. | It's just crazy sometime. |

M: | {There,} there was one um :: "Oh, {my,} my son will not come at school at all next week :: because we have a trip to Italy, and um :: because my daughter um is in touch with a stylist :: and there is a fashion week :: and we are invited. | So the whole family's going there. | So, sorry :: he won't be at school for a week."|

S: | But Amendine {sayed me that} told me :: that she receive a mail {of} of a father :: who ask her :: to say to his son :: that the one of his toy :: were locked in a tree on their garden :: was now in her bedroom | and he take the toys in the tree :: I don't know what | (1) and just he sent a mail to Amendine :: to say ::"You can say to my son :: that he has now his toy." | "Like, we are at school. | I receive a ton of mail in the day. | I don't have the time for that. | You can maybe wait the end of the day." | {Yeah.}

M: {Wow.}

S: | {And the…} And Milo, {the,} his mom, :: who sent me a mail in my professional mailbox at the beginning of the year | {and} and I didn't see my mail during two weeks :: 'cause I didn't go on the s—

M: {Address}

S: Address. | Anyway, she propose me :: to come dinner to their home | and so I {gi-} gave her an answer two weeks after like :: "Oh, I didn't check my {e-} professional email. | I'm a good teacher. | Don't worry!" | {and she…}

79 M: | She answered? |

80 S: | Yeah, she answered me | and I (1) always invited :: to take a dinner with
81 them on October | so I have to (1) check {the *date*} the date. | But I said to
82 Kara :: it's weird to go to the family of the kids on our place class :: 'cause we
83 can't |

84 M: | They always, yeah, try :: to ask us |

85 S: | Yeah, we can't talk about the students' |

86 M: | And they will ask you :: "Oh, how is he doing at school?" |

87 S: | "Good! Good!" |

88 M: {And, yeah.}

89 S: | It's weird |

90 M: {So we have to}

91 S: | Yeah, and for the for the kids :: to like the interns come at all :: I don't know |

92 M: | I think :: they like that. |

93 S: {Yeah} | Maggie told me :: that we are really popular. | {Yeah.}

[…]

94 M: {Okay.} | And so, what do you want me :: to ask Gera? |

95 S: | If she can bring us to

96 M: {Romain's house}

97 S: Romain's house, yeah, at 7. |

98 M: | I could ask my partner mom too :: because {she,} she told me :: "Oh, if you need
99 a ride, :: just ask." | {So….}

100 S: {Yeah} | Maggie told me yesterday :: that all the parents in Edina {i-} :: who
101 participate to the neighborhood network :: they want to

102 M: {drive us}

103 S: drive us {yeah} :: 'cause it's so cool :: to drive the interns. |

104 M: | So we have to be very nice in the car and— |

105 S: | "Pay me for that, okay?" |

106 M: | But I think :: it's a little too late :: to ask the neighborhood network. |

107 S: {Yeah.}

[…]

108 S: | and yeah I send a mail to Delphine and David, my partner family | and I sayed
109 us :: that I'm free on Saturday afternoon or evening | and she answered me, ::
110 "Oh, you can come with us to the swimming meet of the girls. | It's between 10
111 and 2." | {No. No. Just no.} | I don't want to. | And Max and Sophia are going
112 there too. | It's the same swimming pool. | {So just—No.}

[…]

113 M: | And so in the third grade teacher will dress up as {a, a cha-} a character of Inside
114 Out, for Halloween. |

115 I: I thought you guys were all Mario.

116 S: | No, she's not in first grade. |

117 I: Oh, it's only first grade. I thought it was the whole school.

118 S: | She already know the secret! |

119 M: | It was a secret team, | {but…}

120 S: | And you know {:: that Noah…} | We were eating in the *le coin des profs* |

121 M: {the lounge}

122 S: {Yeah,} | and Lesley was here too | and, so Victor, Clarice, me, and Noah. | And
123 Noah was talking with Lesley | and Lesley ask her for the costume, | and
124 Noah just say :: "Oh yeah, we're doing all the characters of Mario" | and
125 Victor, Clarice, and me were like :: "Noah, it's a secret." |

126 M: | "Why did you do?" |

127 S: | "Oh, I didn't know that." | How it's possible. | {So, yeah.}

128 M: | And I have the feeling :: in Edina, everyone knows everything. |

129 S: | So it won't be a secret

130 M: {For a long time}

131 S: For a long time…|

[…]

132 M: | And, {d-} um, do you think :: there will be a Halloween party on Saturday ::
133 where we will all go or? |

134 S: | {My, ah!} Milo, her mom, :: who invited me, :: she said :: that she is doing a
135 Halloween party in October :: I don't remember when, | but she invited me
136 here | and she said :: "Yeah there will be some kids of her class." | {OK—No!}

137 M: | And, Matt told me about a party on Saturday too, | but he said :: "Oh, I don't
138 think :: you will have fun there. | There will be a lots of kids, | so, (1) if you
139 have something else planned, :: feel free to go." |

140 S: | We can do a interns' party. |

141 M: | Yeah, but where? |

142 S: | In my house? | I don't know. | Outside… In the streets. |

143 M: {Ok.} | I hope :: there won't be snow. |

[…]

S: {Yeah.} | Mr. Bollin. | He's always in the hallways of the school. | I don't know :: what he's doing. |

M: | I think :: the teacher like that :: because he's very close to the teachers and to the children. | They all know him | and they like him, :: I think. | So it's better than a (1) principal :: that stays in his office and :: that you never see, and :: you just don't know :: what he does and :: if he cares about you. | (5) And he's friendly with the interns too. | He's always says 'good morning' and 'how are you?' |

S: | Not like the *secretaire* of the school. |

M: | Karen. | {Eh- do, di-} do you know :: that her nickname is the directress? |

S: | Really? |

M: | Yes, Sophie Krasher told me that. | He say, :: "{We} we can't paste {ta-} that tape in the hallway :: because the directress doesn't like it. | Yeah, and so she said :: that "{you,} you have to hid it, behind {a} the sheet, so that :: she doesn't see it." |

S: | Oh my gosh. | {She's,} when we (2) arrive at school on the morning, :: there is two secretaire? |

M: | Secretary |

S: | And we say, 'Good morning!' | and (1) nothing. |

M: | She doesn't answer. |

S: | "Ok, have a good day, too." |

M: | But {the} the other one {is} is nice. | Sometimes uh I complain with her :: because she has to be with Karen all the day. |

S: | And there are a lot of things to manage. | They receive the call for the parent :: who change :: (1) where the kids are going after school. | Like {there's} there are parent pick-up, Kids' club, and bus, | and the parents call :: if there

are *changements,* | {so…}

M: | And {it} it's funny uh the way :: {she} in the morning, she says :: {"*Il est 8h20. Le bus arrive. Bonne journée.*"} |

S: | Every morning. | And every morning I say 'ahhhh!' |

M: | Every morning the same. |

S: {"*Il est 8h20!"* Yeah.} | Maybe it's a recording! |

I: She says it like that, with an accent?

M: {Yes!} | And um there's a teacher um Ben :: he always tries to say it just before her | so {he} he imitates her, like, um :: {"*Il est 8h20, le bus arrive, bonne journée.*"} | and then she says it just {the} the same way. | And if the teachers forget :: to uh (2) check {the} who is there and :: who is not there, :: she calls the phone in the classroom. | Oh no! {She,} she makes an announcement. | She says :: "Sophie {T-}, uh, Sophie Krasher, please call the office." |

S: | After school too. | "Cheryl Newman, please call the office." |

— End of recording —